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社会资本与当代中国政治发展

Social Capital and Modern China Political Development

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摘要

本论题来源于一个一百多年来被中国无数思想精英、仁人志士反复追问和探寻，却至今无解的问题：为何有着数千年辉煌文明史的中国的政治现代化之路如此崎岖坎坷，当代中国的政治发展之路何时才能得以突围——实现现代民主政治转型？社会资本是一个具有广泛包容性、并被社会科学界的学者们广泛使用的分析概念和理论范式。本文根据政治学视野中的社会资本所具有的不同属性，建构起社会资本的理論分析框架，即把社会资本解析为三个部分：文化社会资本——由公民的信任、互惠和合作体现出来的一系列政治态度和价值观；组织社会资本——社会成员通过密集社会互动形成的社会组织、自愿性团体和社区共同体；制度社会资本——包括风俗习惯、社会规范、正式制度与非正式制度等。从这个理论框架出发来分析当代中国政治发展中存在的问题和面临的困境，进而探讨解决问题的对策及改革突围的进路。这是本文的创新之处。

鸦片战争以来的百年近现代中国政治发展历程中，中国经历了前所未有的动荡和灾难，尝试了从改良到革命的各种变革图强道路，却未能实现现代政治转型。本文从社会资本的角度总结了近现代中国政治现代化困境的根源：秦汉以来数千年漫长历史发展过程中形成的传统社会资本——以儒家文化为核心的文化社会资本、一盘散沙似的贫瘠的组织社会资本、以中央集权专制体制为基本框架的制度社会资本，与现代开放民主社会的政治制度格格不入，传统社会资本以其强大制约力量捆绑住老大帝国的前进步伐，使得近现代中国的政治发展之路格外曲折坎坷。

当代中国在经历了前三十激进社会运动的重大挫折之后，通过改革开放取得社会经济发展的巨大成就，但是在现有社会资本的制约之下，当代中国政治发展陷入进退维谷的困境之中。当代中国文化社会资本还存在着一些与时代发展不合拍的因素，如政治文化观念趋于保守、社会信任出现危机，国民素质较低等；组织社会资本虽然较改革开放前有了较大发展，但自主性的公民社会依然孱弱、社会组织的能力及整个结社生态系统仍有较大的缺陷；制度社会资本也存在一些根本性缺陷，如法治建设依然有待完善、“权力寻租”等潜规则盛行，导致了尖锐的社会矛盾和频发的群体性事件。面对当今中国复杂的社会政治形势，亟需通过重建社会共识、重塑公民社会、重构社会制度来投资与培育社会资本，以

促进中国民主政治的转型与发展。

总之，当代中国是由一个总体性权力全面控制社会的大一统格局的社会转型而来，社会资本发育一直不足，这是当前中国政治改革踟蹰不前、经历 160 多年的艰难历程而政治现代化转型至今仍未完成的根本原因。面对当今复杂化和风险化的社会经济环境和国家治理困境，强化总体性权力已被国内外历史经验证明是行不通的。通过培育和重建由文化社会资本、组织社会资本和制度社会资本构成的社会资本，才能形成对国家权力的有力监督和支撑，促进民主宪政的建立与完善。重建社会，投资与培育社会资本是实现中国政治发展的重要选择。

关键词：社会资本；当代中国政治发展；政治转型

Abstract

The thesis stems from the unanswerable questions that the numerous of people with lofty ideas hammer in questioning and exploring for more than 100 years: China, with a glorious history of civilization for thousands of years, is hard to accomplish her political modernization, but why? When Chinese contemporary political development can be on its own way, and evolve into its modern democratic political restructure? Social capital is a broadly inclusive analyzing concept and theoretical paradigm which is widely used by social science scholars. On the basis of different attributes of social capital in the view of the political perspective, this paper constructs theoretical framework of social capital, that is to say that the social capital is parsed into three parts: the cultural and social capital - a series of political attitudes and values reflected by the trust of citizens; organizational social capital - voluntary organizations and community formed through intensive social interaction by social organizations members; system of social capital - including customs, social norms, formal institutions and informal system. Using this theoretical framework to analyze political problems and difficulties during the development of contemporary Chinese, and then explore solutions to this problem and the path of reform is the innovation of this paper.

Within political development of modern Chinese history for nearly a hundred years since the Opium War, China has experienced unprecedented turmoil and disaster, tried a variety of changes to improve and strengthen the country road from revolution, but failed to achieve a modern political transformation. From the perspective of social capital, this paper summarizes the roots of the modern Chinese political modernization dilemma: traditional social capital formed in the long history since the Qin and Han dynasties- cultural and social capital with Confucian culture as the core, poor organization social capital like a mess, system social capital with the centralized authoritarian system as the basic framework, are totally incompatible with open and democratic society and the modern political system, traditional social capital restricts the forwarding pace of the old empire, leading to the modern China's political development road hard and rough..

Contemporary China has made great achievements in social and economic

development through reform and opening up after experiencing major setbacks such as radical social movements, but with the constraints of existing social capital, the development of Chinese contemporary political dilemma steps into dilemma. Contemporary Chinese cultural social capital still exists a number of factors conflicting with era development, such as the concept of conservative political culture, social trust crisis, the lower the quality of citizens, etc.; organization social capital, although having great progress compared with that before reform and opening up, but the autonomy of civil society is still weak, the social structure of the organization, competence and the entire ecosystem of association still have series defects; system social capital also has fundamental flaws, such as the rule of law still in need of being improved, "the abuse of power" and other unspoken rule prevailed, leading to a sharp social conflicts and frequent mass incidents. Facing with complex social and political situation, China urgently needs to rebuild the social consensus through reshape civil society, the reconstruction of the social system to invest in and nurture social capital to promote the transformation and development of China's democratic politics.

In brief, contemporary China is transformed from a grand unification fully controlled by a general pattern power, social capital development has been inadequate, which is the fundamental reasons of current Chinese political reform hesitance as well as difficult journey through 160 years of political modernization and transformation. Facing with today's complexity and risk of the socio-economic plight of the environment and national governance, strengthened overall power has been proven not feasible. Only by nurturing and rebuilding the social capital consisting of the cultural and social capital, organizational and institutional social capital, can the strong state power supervision and support be established, so as to promote the establishment and improvement of constitutional democracy. Social reconstruction, investment and fostering social capital are an important choice to realize China's political development.

Keywords: political development; social capital; political transition

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